27) The person who has eaten his fill says that karty (3) has a bad smell.

3. Karty is fat horse intestines, considered by the Kazakhs to be the most delicious dish. [262]

28) The tops of the shrubs do not move until the wind blows.

29) The hungry child does not play with the full one.

30) You do not drain a lake by dipping from it with a spoon; you do not destroy a population by stealing.

31) A hint to the good man, a stick to the bad.

32) A population living in agreement does not become corrupt; clothing well sewn does not wear out.

33) A country which has no elder is like a body without a head.

/263/ 34) A bull with cow's horns does not have strength; a cow with bull's horns does not have milk.

35) Do no pursue something you will not overtake; do not grumble over something which was not fated for you to receive.

36) Words are born from words. If there is no talk, then where can they be born?

37) A good man does not meditate about giving away to the lowest. A brave man does not calculate the large numbers of the enemy.

38) A man who has a woman's voice is not capable of marital life.

39) The ignoramus does not see his own fault, but notices the faults of others.

40) He who trusts in God flies like a bird, and he who relies on his horse will fall off it unexpectedly.

41) A just ruler resembles the early spring, and an unjust one resembles the winter.

[311 cont.]

equally from heat and cold.

The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

1. We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [177] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored
554 place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door,
352 that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and
353 covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug,
[574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in
[264] the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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252 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered
[574] especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
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443 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called

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"kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink
262 vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
439 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

231 It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
241 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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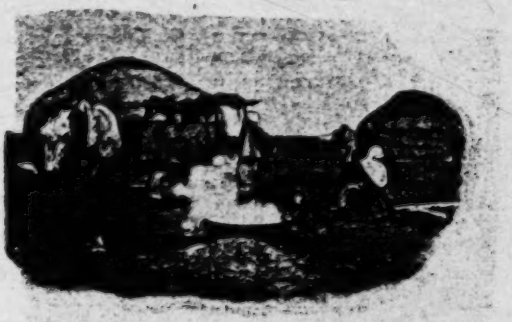

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done

585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

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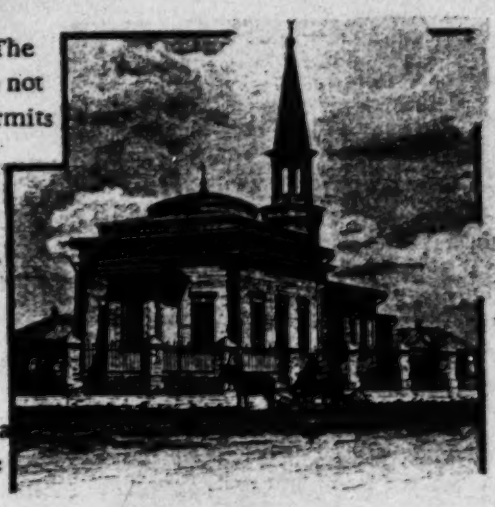
796 785 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not observe it. The law permits [779] taking food for three days or three periods of three days only for [346 493] old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta [262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse-
769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from
779 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with
789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K 177 life of the republic. There is reason to doubt the population picture provided by Soviet figures. Since polygamy is illegal in the Soviet Union, polygamous marriages are carefully concealed from the Soviet registry. A recent ethnographic report notes that registration of marriage is far from general among the Kazakhs. There are cases in which birth registration has been delayed in order to register children by one wife in the name of another—another Kazakh device designed to circumvent the prohibition of polygamy. Similarly, practices such as leviratic marriage are maintained, concealed as much as possible from the Soviet authorities.[1]

K 114 177 The source for these data is a series of reports published in the past five years by the Soviet ethnographer, O.A. Korbe. He and his staff have advanced the thesis that Kazakh society in the Soviet period includes a number of institutions which have survived from pre-Soviet days. A rebuttal has been entered by another Soviet ethnographer, a K [815] Kazakh, Sabitov. Basing his report on field work in the summer of 1952, Sabitov seeks to show that rural Kazakhs have been transformed entirely by the process of Sovietization. His conclusions are supported by a certain amount of illustrative material; for example, he asserts that kolkhoz houses show Russian influence and that Russian craftsmen are employed for making stoves. Utensils used in daily life are for the most part contemporary in both design and production. Clothing, on the other hand, is in part traditional, in part modern.[2]

Sabitov's data are highly selective, for they concern only material culture—housing, dress, utensils. He merely states, without specific supporting data, that there have been changes in the social relations, the spiritual culture, and other aspects of Kazakh society. That there have been changes is obvious. Korbe stresses the traditional, the "survivals"; Sabitov stresses the new elements. Neither has examined the interrelations of Kazakh culture and society with the Russian.

K 369 Little information is available on Kazakhs living in cities. Those Kazakhs who have moved into urban areas apparently show little external KN [341] difference from their Russian neighbors. They live in houses of similar architecture; photographs of KSSR cities reveal a uniform type of architecture among the apartment houses and public buildings which is an amalgam of Central Asiatic and Russian designs. Plans for feeding the K [265] cities of Kazakhstan recognize no cultural differences (see Chapter 5 on Economy). The Russian food pattern predominates: potatoes, vegetables, meat, and milk products. Kazakh dietary customs exclude pork, KN [369] which is a typical Russian food carried by the Russians into Central Asia. One infers that segregation according to cultural background exists at least to a certain degree in the cities. The separation of Kazakhs from Russians is clearly not a public policy, nor is it a folk K [186] practice. The best explanation appears to be that the Kazakhs prefer to keep to themselves, and the Russians likewise.

K 177 186 This attitude of holding off is shown in the intermarriage pattern, or rather in the absence of one. The evidence is sparse, far from

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[2] Sabitov, 1953, pp. 97-99.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 1

KN 241

AGRICULTURE IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Area	1942[b]	1953-53[c]
Total rural area[d]	ND	80,000,000
Total area under cultivation	7,000,000	11,000,000
Percentage of total rural area		13.7%
Area in grain	6,500,000	8,000,000
Percentage of total area under cultivation	93%	73%
Area under irrigation	ND	3,000,000[e,f]
Irrigated area under cultivation	ND	1,300,000[f]
Percentage of area under irrigation		43%

[a]All figures are in hectares; one hectare equals 2.47 acres.
[b]Figures from *Kazakhstan v pervyi god . . . ,* 1943.
[c]Figures from *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda,* 9 Sep 53 and 14 Nov 53.
[d]Pastureland, hay meadows, and ploughland.
[e]Compared to 2,600,000 in 1917; Almasov in *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda,* 8 Oct 53, and Shakhshin, 1949, page 21.
[f]Based only on 1953 figures.
ND: No data available.

3,000,000 hectares under irrigation in 1953 represented an increase of 400,000 in the Soviet period, according to Shakhshin. However, only 43 per cent of the total irrigated area was in use.

KN 243

The grain is primarily wheat and millet, grown in the northern and northeastern parts of the country, where Slavs (Great-Russians and Ukrainians) are in the majority. Here the black earth and the river valleys enable them to continue their traditional patterns of agriculture. Rice is grown in the irrigated tracts of the southern districts of Kazakhstan (Syr-Darya Valley) by a population largely Uzbek, and in the southeastern districts (Ili River Valley) by a mixed population including Uigurs, Dungans, and Koreans.

KN 244 474 [311]

The Soviet policy developed during and since the war regarding truck farming has been to establish a system of state farms (sovkhoz) around the urban centers. The cities of Karaganda, Balkhash, Kounradskiy, Dzhezkazgan, and others are surrounded by belts of farms which produce potatoes and vegetables. In addition, they supply the cities with dairy products, beef, mutton, and pork. Pork, potatoes, and vegetables are Russian dietary staples; Kazakhs by tradition have never raised and eaten these items.

K [262]

The truck farming is a feature of farm organization which developed during World War II, when mining and ore-processing centers and industrial plants increased their capacities and manpower. Workers were sent to Kazakhstan from European Russia and to these migrants were added people from rural Kazakhstan. To meet the task of feeding these groups, the state-farm system was developed. In addition, urban workers were encouraged to maintain kitchen gardens for themselves. There are no data on Kazakhstan as a whole in this category; some information is available for the city of Karaganda, however, and there is no reason to think that this city differed from others in Kazakhstan. In Karaganda approximately 8,000 workers maintained kitchen gardens at the

KN [167]

KN 241 369

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

K KN 231 K [962]

The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

KN [167]

The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

K [962] [179]

COLLECTIVIZATION

K 197 648

Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

K [167]

During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor K [361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [171] [272] The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 29 [171] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 171 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The